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HOUSING DEMANDS AND ATTITUDES OF NEGROES — DENVER, COLORADO*

By Charles Gray

INTRODUCTION

In the South the civil rights movement is concentrating on the school and the vote, but in the North increasing attention focuses on segregated housing. Racial ghettos are the standard pattern of the cities of the North and West. Such segregation severely limits any efforts to integrate the churches and schools. Consequently, those favoring equality, as well as those opposing it, increasingly recognize that the battle over housing is indeed a crucial one, not only for housing itself, but for many other chapters of the integration story.

In the field of housing, research in a number of areas might increase understanding of the problem. Studies of such areas as the sources of resistance to integration, the extent of the pressure for change, the institutionalization of the ghetto, the relative strength of the cohesive and divisive forces in the ghetto, the property value question and the extent of minority housing demands should be of value in contributing to this understanding.

This study on the Negro housing demand and attitudes on housing segregation was done in Denver, Colorado during the months of May and June, 1958. The study was conducted by the author under the sponsorship of the Denver Coordinating Council for Education and Research in Human Relations. The YWCA and the Urban League also helped in many ways.

Studies similar to this one should be of value to many community interests such as community agencies, builders, lenders, real estate groups, social education and action groups and legislators.

Because of the segregation pattern, the measurement of minority housing demand must consider many factors other than dollars and cents. The attitudes toward housing segregation might influence the choice more than the other factors involved, such as the prices of housing or the effect of proscribed areas. Consequently, those conducting the study were interested not only in the financial ability of those interviewed, but in their present and past patterns of behavior in procuring housing and in their attitudes toward housing segregation.

The study was concerned with many questions, several of which are: How many families were looking for housing? How many were looking outside the ghetto and where? Whether looking "outside" was related to sociological variables such as income, education, military record, age, attitudes on housing? What reasons were given by Negroes for the existence of the ghetto and whether a representative group of the Negroes interviewed supported the racial minority leadership in demands for housing integration.

*By Way of Explanation:

The demand study titled "Housing Demands and Attitudes of Negroes — Denver, Colorado" carried in this issue is an illustration of how community groups can gather information regarding needs of non-white families for housing. Studies similar to this might serve as a focal point around which concerned individuals and agencies may organize for action. For further information about studies of this type, inquiries may be directed to the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations. The editors wish to express appreciation to Mr. Charles Gray and his colleagues for making this study available for publication. Mr. Gray serves as co-chairman of the Housing Committee of the Denver Coordinating Council for Education and Research in Human Relations.

I EXTENT OF THE STUDY

To obtain a representative sample, and thus sufficiently reliable results, every fourth household was interviewed in the area considered. This area was determined by a panel of four experts to be the "Negro Section" on the basis of having more than 30 per cent Negro families. The experts included the executive director of the Urban League, one Caucasian and two Negro real estate brokers.

The Negro minority was selected for two reasons: 1) The Negro is generally considered to be more severely restricted in the procurement of housing than are other minorities, and 2) the financial and personal resources available for the study made it more feasible to study the much more compact Negro ghetto. Our sample comprised 2,250 households. If no one answered the door on the first contact, two subsequent calls were made before giving up. Using this method we were able to contact 1,953 persons, the rest of the sample being vacant, torn down, errors in the city directory. The sample breakdown follows:

TABLE 1
DIVISION OF SAMPLE BY CONTACT AND RACE

Item	Number	Per Cent of Persons Contacted	Per Cent of Sample
Contacts with Negro	1,230	63.	54.7
Contacts with Non-Negro	723	37.	32.1
No contact (after 3 calls)	157		7.0
Vacant or torn down	93		4.1
No such residence	36		1.6
Party temporarily absent	8		.4
Refusals	3		.1
	2,250	100.	100.0

Of the 1,230 Negroes, 128, or 10.4 per cent were looking for housing at the time of the survey, May and June 1958. Of the 128, there were 111 planning to rent or buy housing. (See Table 2). These 111, or 87.6 per cent of the 128 Negro families in the sample, looking for housing at the time of the survey were extensively interviewed.* The following results were obtained from these 111 interviews with Negro home seekers.

Since every fourth household in the area was interviewed, the most reliable estimates of housing demand for the entire Negro population in the area can be obtained by multiplying any of the frequencies in the following table by four. Percentage estimates for the Negro population in the area would of course be the same as those in the sample, assuming our sample is random.

II ECONOMICS OF HOUSING DEMAND

A somewhat larger number of families are in the rental market than in the buying market, as the following table shows:

* For details on scientific method used in this study see Parten, Mildred, *Surveys, Polls, and Samples*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.

TABLE 2

**HOUSING PLANS OF THE 111 FAMILIES
EXTENSIVELY INTERVIEWED**

Planning to rent in the Denver area	56
Planning to buy in the Denver area	45
Planning to move in with relatives	1
Planning to move to another city	5
Don't know	4
Total	111

Of the 111 families extensively interviewed, there were 56 looking for rental housing.

Table 3 provides a further breakdown of maximum rents which families are willing to pay. About 75 per cent of the families are willing to pay rentals of between \$50 and \$79 a month.

TABLE 3

**BREAKDOWN OF THE MAXIMUM RENTS
56 FAMILIES ARE WILLING TO PAY**

Per Mo.	\$30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	Total
Number	1	6	14	11	17	4	3	56

Of the 111 families extensively interviewed, there were 45 who were planning to purchase a home. A distribution of these 45 families over the price ranges they are willing to pay is provided in Table 4.

(The correct interpretation of this table is illustrated as follows: There were three families willing to pay \$6,000 or more, but less than \$8,000; 10 families were willing to pay \$8,000 or more, but less than \$10,000, etc.)

TABLE 4

MAXIMUM PRICES THE 45 BUYERS WILL PAY IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS

Price	6-8	8-10	10-12	12-14	14-16	16-18	18-20	20-22	Don't know	Total
Number	3	10	8	7	10	3	1	1	2	45

These results indicate that two thirds of the buyers are planning to pay over \$10,000 and one third will pay over \$14,000. Most of the housing built in Denver since World War II sells within the range of \$10,000 to \$15,000 for two or three bedroom, single family, detached homes.

Approximately 47 per cent of the potential buyers are planning to make down payments of more than \$1,000. See Table 5 for the breakdown on down payments.

TABLE 5

MAXIMUM DOWN PAYMENTS BUYERS WILL PAY

	Number		Number		Number
O or GI	1	1001-1500	6	4001-5000	1
\$1-250	0	1501-2000	5	5001-6000	1
251-500	9	2001-2500	0	Cash	2
501-750	1	2501-3000	5	Don't know	4
751-1000	9	3001-4000	1		
Totals	20		17		8

These same 45 buyers who are prepared to make down payments as indicated in Table 5 indicate that they are willing to pay monthly payments as distributed in Table 6.

TABLE 6

MAXIMUM MONTHLY PAYMENTS (INCLUDING INSURANCE AND TAXES) BUYER WILL PAY

	Number		Number		Number
\$40-99	1	70-79	8	100-124	2
50-59	2	80-89	9	125-150	1
60-69	6	90-99	9	Don't know	7
Totals	9		26		10

The buyers are definitely looking for more expensive housing than the renters, as an examination of Tables 3 and 6 particularly will show. Also, buyers are looking for larger housing, as Table 7 indicates.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF BEDROOMS WANTED

	None	One	Two	Three	Four or More	Don't Know	Total
Buyers	0	1	15	23	6	0	45
Renters	0	6	33	12	4	1	56

In order to get an idea of the size of the housing desired, the common criteria of number of bedrooms wanted was used. The results indicated that most of the renters, 70 per cent, wanted two bedrooms or less, while 65 per cent of the buyers wanted three bedrooms or more.

The following table shows the percentage of interviewees who were dissatisfied with their present housing and why. "Too small" and "poor condition" were the most common reasons given.

Of 111 families interviewed, 15, or 13 per cent were satisfied with their housing facility. Ninety-six, or 87 per cent expressed various kinds of dissatisfaction. Table 8 provides a breakdown of these expressions of dissatisfaction.

**TABLE 8
TYPE OF DISSATISFACTION WITH PRESENT
HOUSING (BASED ON 96 INTERVIEWS)**

	Number	Per Cent of 111
Too small	40	36.
Poor condition	19	17.
Poor location	8	7.
Too expensive	6	5.
Combinations of above	11	10.
Wrong level	4	4.
Too large	3	3.
Segregated	3	3.
Other miscellaneous	2	2.
Totals	96	87.

III WHERE NEGROES ARE LOOKING FOR HOUSING

Are Negro families completely reconciled to living inside the "ghetto," or when looking for housing, do they seek to find it outside of the "ghetto" area? In an effort to answer this question the respondent was asked whether he had looked "inside the present Negro section," "near, within ten blocks of the present Negro section," and/or more than 10 blocks from the present Negro section. Ninety-three of the respondents who were looking for private housing in Denver answered as shown in Table 9.

**TABLE 9
WHERE IN DENVER 93 RESPONDENTS ARE LOOKING**

	Number	Per Cent
Looking only inside	40	43.
Looking inside and near	12	13.
Looking inside and near and far	19	20.
Looking inside and far	7	8.
Looking near only	3	3.
Looking near and far	4	4.
Looking far only	8	9.
Totals	93	100.

The 57 per cent who are doing some or all of their house hunting outside of the present Negro section are not looking everywhere equally. Of the 49 families specifying by name the areas outside where they had been looking, 16, or 33 per cent had done all of their looking outside in one neighborhood only, Park Hill, the neighborhood to the east of the "Negro Section." Thirteen additional families, or 26 per cent have done some of their outside looking in Park Hill. Park Hill is a very small part of the metropolitan area, yet 59 per cent of those looking outside are looking either exclusively or partly in this neighborhood. This would confirm the hypothesis that other things remaining equal, the Negro section will continue to expand toward the east.

IV ATTITUDES ON HOUSING PROBLEMS

There is considerable discrepancy between the pattern of house hunting and the attitudes expressed toward solving the housing problem. Though the house hunting pattern points to an expansion of the Negro section, the following data indicate that very few Negroes favor this as the best solution to their housing problems.

The 111 Negro families interviewed were asked whether in their opinion enough housing was open to Negroes in Denver and its suburbs. They answered as follows: "yes," 16, or 14 per cent; "no," 82, or 74 per cent; "don't know," 13, or 12 per cent. The 74 per cent who answered "no" were then given a list of six methods of getting more housing for Negroes, and they were asked to express a preference as to which method was the best. Table 10 shows the percentages on each method.

TABLE 10

ATTITUDES ON SOLUTION OF HOUSING PROBLEM

	Number	Per cent of the 74 per cent who say not enough housing is available	Per cent of all 111
1. Build more housing in the present Negro section	3	4.	3.
2. Build a housing project for Negroes only in a new area of Denver or suburbs	1	1.	1.
3. Expand the Negro section beyond the present boundaries	2	2.	2.
4. Build more public housing for low income families of all races	21	26.	19.
5. Build a housing project open to all races in a new area of Denver or suburbs	10	12.	9.
6. Open up housing to Negroes everywhere in the Denver area	41	50.	37.
7. Don't know	4	5.	3.
Totals	82	100.	74.

Thus, though the actual pattern of house hunting indicates expansion of the Negro section, only 2 per cent of those who think that insufficient housing is available consider expanding the section as the best solution.

If the above answers are a valid indication of attitudes, then Negro home seekers favor housing integration. The three answers in which integration was included were favored by 88 per cent of those who felt insufficient housing was available to Negroes, while only 7 per cent favored one of the segregated solutions, and 5 per cent were in doubt. However, this rather overwhelming support of integrated solutions might be modified, to be on the conservative side, by assuming that those who answered "yes" or "don't know" to the original question on whether sufficient housing was open to Negroes in the Denver area, would be likely to be more complacent and agreeable to segregated solutions. Nonetheless, even if all of these were favorable to the segregated solutions, which is unlikely, those favoring integration would still comprise 65 per cent of the 111 respondents. The stereotype that Negroes wish to live "among their own people" isn't supported by the above data.

Further information on attitudes toward housing segregation was obtained by asking the 111 respondents whether they agreed, disagreed, or were neutral toward the statements appearing in Table 11.

TABLE 11

ATTITUDES TOWARD HOUSING SEGREGATION
(111 RESPONDENTS, 3 REFUSED TO ANSWER)

1.	#	# & % Agree	Dis-			Tots. & %'
			Agree	dis-	Neutral	
The present system of racially separate housing is satisfactory and should not be changed	#	10	96	2	108	
	%	9.	89.	2.	100.	
2. Racially separate housing is unfair but nothing can be done about it at the present time....	#	13	84	11	108	
	%	12.	78.	10.	100.	
3. Racially separate housing is unfair, but satisfactory progress is being made to overcome it....	#	40	53	15	108	
	%	37.	49.	14.	100.	
4. Racially separate housing is unfair, and much more should be done to overcome it	#	98	6	4	108	
	%	91.	5.	4.	100.	
5. Laws should be passed prohibiting racial housing discrimination by real estate agents, builders and property owners	#	86	14	8	108	
	%	80.	13.	7.	100.	

The idea that Negroes like the system of housing segregation the way it is, is not confirmed by those Negroes who are looking for housing.

Do Negroes prefer to live among other Negroes, or do they live together because of discrimination barriers? Three possible reasons why the Negro population of Denver lives mainly in one part of town are given to the respondent and he was asked to select the most important. If none of the given reasons seemed important, the respondent was asked to state one. The breakdown with percentages is shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12

REASONS GIVEN FOR THE EXISTENCE
OF THE "GHETTO"

	Number	Per Cent
1. Most Negroes prefer to live among other Negroes, near Negro churches, schools, etc.	26	23.
2. Most Negroes feel that people in other areas would be unfriendly to them	8	7.
3. Most property owners, real estate agents, and banks refuse to sell or rent or make loans to Negroes who want housing in other parts of town	62	56.
4. Don't know or more than one of above reasons	12	11.
5. None of the statements valid	1	1.
6. Main reason for Negro section is economic	1	1.
7. The races are better off	1	1.
Totals	111	100.

These figures indicate that external pressure rather than internal cohesion is looked on as the primary reason for the existence of a concentrated Negro section.

The above answers should reflect the respondents' conception of the attitudes of other Negroes and of persons related to community organizations or businesses. Shifting the emphasis, we asked each person why he himself lived in the Negro section. The responses were somewhat different, with fewer willing to select one of the given reasons.

TABLE 13

REASONS GIVEN FOR RESIDENCE IN THE "GHETTO"

	Number	Per Cent
1. You personally prefer to live among other Negroes, near Negro churches, schools, etc.	17	15.
2. You feel that people in other areas would be unfriendly to you personally	12	11.
3. You believe that most property owners, real estate agents, and banks would refuse to sell, rent, or loan you money for housing in other parts of town	52	47.
4. Don't know or more than one of the above reasons equal	6	5.
5. The Negro section is a convenient place to live	9	8.
6. Main reason is economic	4	4.
7. None of the given reasons valid	3	3.
8. Depends on personal choice	3	3.
9. First house found that met needs	4	4.
10. The races are better off segregated	1	1.
Totals	111	101.*

*The 1% error is due to rounding off the decimal place.

Note that though 23 per cent (Table 12) felt that other Negroes preferred to live among Negroes, only 15 per cent (Table 13) attributed this sentiment to themselves. Also, the respondents did not feel that discrimination affected themselves as much as it did others. An analysis of individual cases revealed that in spite of these differences, 60 per cent of the respondents gave the same reasons for themselves as they attributed to other Negroes.

Are Negroes willing to be the first Negro family in an otherwise all Caucasian neighborhoods? Ninety per cent answered "yes," 8 per cent "no," and 2 per cent "didn't know."

If discriminated against, about 18 per cent of the Negro families would try to find a Caucasian friend to get the house for them, 11 per cent are in doubt on this question, 1 per cent refused to answer, and 70 per cent would not seek such aid. Of the 66 Negro families who had looked "outside" the Negro section, 14, or 29 per cent, reported they were successful in renting or buying. In many cases these were either public housing rentals or fringe area purchases. The remaining 52, or 79 per cent, did not rent or buy "outside" the Negro section and gave reasons as shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14

REASONS GIVEN BY 52 NEGRO FAMILIES FOR NOT BUYING "OUTSIDE" THE NEGRO SECTION

	Number	Per Cent
1. Blame racial discrimination	28	54.
2. Did not find a place that suited them	9	17.
3. Had financial difficulties	9	17.
4. Were not ready to close a deal	3	6.
5. Reported that a deal fell through	2	4.
6. Don't know	1	2.
Totals	52	100.

It must be remembered that the above reasons are the impressions of the respondents. It is likely that the facts in some instances would substantiate a different impression.

V SOME COMPARISONS

Are there economic, or educational or other differences between the families who look only inside the present Negro section and those who do some or all of their looking outside the Negro section? Background data were obtained from each respondent and these were compared with where the respondent was looking.

These background data included age, sex, marital status, children of school age in the home, military service, education, occupation, whether or not employed, distance from home to job, property ownership, and residence in other states before moving to Denver, Colorado. Of these factors, the following were found to be significantly related to whether a family looked for housing only inside the ghetto, or at least partly outside. The differences discovered are listed in the order of their statistical significance from highest to lowest.

Whether a person looks "inside" or at least partly "outside" depends in part on whether they plan to rent or buy. Sixty-two and a half per cent of the renters look only "inside," while only 17.5 per cent of the buyers look only "inside." Statistically the chances are more than ninety-nine out of a hundred that renters and buyers differ in this respect. Apparently when a Negro family can afford to buy a home, they begin to consider living "outside."

The next most significant factor is whether there is a veteran in the family. If there is, the family is much more likely to look "outside." Seventy-two per cent of the veteran families look "outside," while 47 per cent of the non-veteran families look "outside." Statistically, the chances are ninety-eight out of a hundred that veterans and non-veterans, as groups, differ in this way.

Education is next in importance. The chances are better than ninety-five out of a hundred that the group with less than eight years of schooling is more apt to look only "inside." If the division is made between those who had a high school education or less, and those who had more than high school, the difference is less significant, the chances being eighty out of a hundred.

The chances are about seventy-five out of a hundred that white collar and business, professional, and administrative occupational groups are more apt to look outside than blue collar occupations. This influence is harder to measure because of the difficulty of classifying occupations from the responses of the interviewees.

Preliminary analysis indicates that one's age, or whether one has children under eighteen, does not significantly influence where one looks for housing.

Using the Guttman scaling technique, the respondents were ranked according to the intensity of their combined attitudes and behavior toward integration. Then the individual's rank was compared to several background factors, namely, occupation, sex, and education. The last named item was positively and significantly correlated with attitudes toward integration. Those with the most favorable attitudes and behavior toward housing integration were also those who had completed the most years of schooling.

Also, the scaling verified the common sense notion that behavior in a certain direction is more rare than opinion in a certain direction. In this case, many Negroes who favored housing integration did not express their attitude in their own house hunting. At the top of the scale, (therefore the toughest test of the Negro's desire for housing integration) were those respondents who though looking for housing, were not looking in the existing Negro section. Thus, according to the logic of scales, it's a very good bet that the Negro who doesn't look inside the ghetto has a strong foundation of attitudes favorable to housing integration.

CONCLUSIONS

In Denver the Negro home seeker favors housing integration and considers discrimination to be the main cause of the ghetto. Those who seek housing outside the ghetto tend to be

the buyers, the veterans, the better educated, and those of higher occupational status. Two thirds of the potential buyers can afford moderately priced homes (\$10,000) or better.

Slightly more than 10 per cent of the sample were in the market at the time of the survey. Assuming that our sample was random, it could be said with less than a 5 per cent chance of error that at the time of the survey there were somewhere between 424 and 600 Negro families in the survey area seeking to rent or purchase housing, with 512 being the best single estimate. If the few (17) who could not be contacted had the same proportion of renters and buyers as the rest of our sample, the best estimate of the number of Negro families seeking to buy a home in the Denver area would be 210. Considering the average price of \$11,651 these purchasers are willing to pay, 210 families represents \$2,446,710 worth of housing demand. The amount of this potential demand that becomes actual demand cannot be estimated from the data.

Though Negro home seekers favor full housing integration, their individual aspirations on residence location, and their behavior pattern when actually looking for housing, warrant the conclusion that a continuation of the ghetto expansion is more likely than extensive dispersion. Considering the historical persistence of the expansion pattern, dispersion is unlikely to replace it unless those who support justice for all in housing make a concerted effort in this direction.

Denver groups supporting open-occupancy housing favor a two-pronged attack: 1) The establishment of a clearing house to open channels of communication among three groups: minority home seekers who want housing in new areas, democratic citizens who are selling or renting housing in these new areas, and individuals or groups desiring to finance such transactions. 2) The passage of fair housing legislation. Since the above survey was conducted, Colorado has taken the second of these steps. The first step has yet to be organized.

Housing—Action By Citizen Groups

For the past five years the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches has been working with church and community groups in a number of cities on the elimination of racial segregation in private housing or, to put it positively, toward the achievement of open-occupancy policy and practice in private housing. In connection with this service the department has found that citizen groups have engaged in several lines of action. The article, "Housing Demand and Attitude of Negroes — Denver, Colorado," carried in this issue illustrates one of these lines of action. This suggests a brief listing of the types of action that have been taken.

Citizen groups have pursued the following lines of action:

- 1) The discovery of allies by encouraging church and community organizations to issue and publish statements in support of justice to all people in procuring shelter and by getting individuals to sign and publish covenants welcoming families into their neighborhoods without regard to race, religion or national origin.
- 2) The procurement of detailed information on the private housing market including specific information as to the demand (actual market) for housing by minority group families of the community.
- 3) The establishment of communication through which buyers are put in touch with sellers without regard to race, religion or national origin when realtors refuse to do business on this non-discriminatory basis. (For fuller discussion of this line of action, see INTER-RACIAL NEWS SERVICE, Volume 29, Number 5, September-October, 1958, "A Planned Dispersion Pattern — An Answer to the Ghetto.")
- 4) The procurement and distribution of information regarding mortgage financing for non-white buyers. In some places, first mortgage money has been made available by individuals and groups of individuals to non-white purchasers in need of mortgage money.
- 5) The continuation of contact for a period of time as needed, with non-white families who have moved into their new homes in all-white areas.
- 6) Support of legislation for achieving open-occupancy housing by churches and community groups.

The editors

RACE VIOLENCE GROWING, SURVEY FINDS

Racial violence, reprisal and intimidation in the South during the past four years show deterioration of law and order since the United States Supreme Court's school decisions, a report by three agencies declared today.

The report pointed to killings, beatings, bombings and mob action in the South from January 1, 1955 to January 1, 1959. It was published jointly by the American Friends Service Committee, High Point, N. C.; the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ, New York; and the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta. The last-named is a bi-racial group working toward better race relations.

The three groups listed 530 specific cases of violence, reprisal and intimidation, and said the record points to widespread erosion of individual liberties.

"Although political leaders of Southern states have declared their opposition to lawlessness," the report stated, "one may fairly ask whether legislative and executive policies of evasion and defiance of decisions of the Federal courts have not set an example whose contagion is uncontrollable."

An introduction to the report said incidents chronicled were taken from newspapers and that other reports, however reliable, were not used.

"They are reports of actions taken by private groups and individuals and sometimes by mobs, who have wielded violence and economic power in a bitter and defiant protest against a new order of race relations.

Resistance groups, typified by the White Citizens Councils born in Mississippi in 1954, have spread across the South. By 1956 they had an estimated 300,000 members. Their characteristic tactics have been economic pressure, propaganda and lobbying.

"Other groups, such as a revived but disjointed Ku Klux Klan and some extremist off-shoots of the Citizens Councils, have advocated and participated in cruder methods of intimidation. Gunpowder and dynamite, parades and cross burnings, anonymous telephone calls, beatings and threats have been the marks of their trade. These attacks have been directed not only at Negroes but at some white persons who have strayed from local customs. Also, overt anti-Semitism flared and synagogues have been attacked."

The publication said another accounting could be given of patience, responsibility, courage and good will by both Negroes and whites.

The list of incidents included six Negroes killed; twenty-nine individuals, eleven of them white, shot and wounded in racial incidents; forty-four persons beaten, five stabbed; one Negro emasculated, and thirty bombings of houses. In one of the thirty bombings, at Clinton, Tenn., thirty homes were damaged by a single blast.

Other incidents included fifteen homes struck by gunfire and seven stoned; school bombings in Jacksonville, Nashville, Chattanooga and Clinton, Tenn.; seven churches bombed; a church burned in Memphis; Jewish centers bombed in Miami, Nashville, Jacksonville and Atlanta; bombing attempts on Jewish buildings in Gastonia, N. C., Birmingham and Charlotte; a Y.W.C.A. building in Chattanooga and an auditorium in Knoxville dynamited; two schools burned.

Included were stories of school trouble at Little Rock, the University of Alabama; Hoxie, Ark.; Clinton, Tenn., and Mansfield, Texas.

(*New York Herald Tribune*, June 15, 1959)

CURB LAWLESSNESS

The report that increased racial violence and intimidation have spread in the South since the 1954 Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools underlines the need for anti-bombing and anti-lynching legislation, Senator Jacob K. Javits, New York Republican, declared Wednesday.

The New Yorker directed the attention of the Senate to the report published jointly by the American Friends Service Committee, the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the

National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and the Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial group working toward better racial relations.

The report listed 530 specific cases of violence, reprisals and intimidation, and said the record pointed to a widespread erosion of civil liberties.

* * *

"This sorry and tragic recital only demonstrates the extent of defiance of law affecting not only the colored minority but, with increasing intensity, religious minorities like Jews and Catholics as well as moderates who are white, and even Indians," Javits told the Senate, adding:

"Also, encompassed are business and industries, too, that must inevitably be vitally affected."

He said the report underlines the need for legislation against bombings, lynchings and the dissemination of hate literature, and to better safeguard civil liberties and rights, which have been pending in the Senate for nearly six months.

* * *

The report, Javits said, presents a real challenge to the Senate majority (Democrats) which has the primary responsibility for bringing measures before the Senate.

"It points up the fact that excessive delay is just not tolerable in the situation which faces the nation in the South," Javits declared.

"Though I have no illusions about panaceas, it is a fact that federal law can at least show that we mean to help within the limits of law."

Javits said he saw two basic reasons for the situation portrayed in the report:

"First, a widespread disrespect for law when often the most responsible members of a community and those in official positions are in defiance of the law as enunciated by the Supreme Court.

"Second, the failure so far of the Federal Government to itself assert the supremacy of the Constitution through adequate law of its own.

"The most striking example of that is the inability of the Federal enforcement machinery to follow through, notwithstanding a reportedly affirmative FBI investigation, in the Mack Charles Parker lynching.

"This report soberly and seriously calls us to action. It is addressed as well to the people of the affected southern states."

Javits called for action on needed legislation at this session of Congress. Unless a bill is brought up in the Senate before July 4, he said, he did not see how legislation can be passed.

(*The Afro-American*, June 27, 1959)

WILKINS TELLS BAPTISTS

Colored Americans stand united on the school desegregation issue, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, told delegates attending the National Sunday School and Baptist Training Union here last week.

"There was a time," Mr. Wilkins said, "when southern white people could have split the colored population down the middle on any issue like this. This would have kept us fighting among ourselves and we never would have received any benefit from the Supreme Court ruling.

"This has not been true on school desegregation. . . . We have been united. I believe this has been due in no small measure to the leadership which our churches, their pastors and their members have given."

* * *

"How can colored people be happy, for example, when their children under the illegal segregated school system, often must use torn, second-hand, out-dated textbooks after the white children have finished with them?

"If I know anything about my own people," Mr. Wilkins continued, "it is that they are mighty tired of the same old shabby deal."

* * *

Turning to the role of the church in the struggle for civil rights, Mr. Wilkins said, "Our work and the work of the church have the common objective of creating a better and more just world."

"The establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth means the establishment of a society in which all the children of God shall have equality of opportunity, in which there shall be no difference in treatment because of nationality, or language, or form or worship, or skin color."

Speaking of the unity among colored persons, Mr. Wilkins said, that against this, "our opponents have made much noise, but not much progress. In the battle for public opinion they are losing. Their cause is not just.

* * *

"They are trying to turn back the clock, to revive conditions as they were 80 years ago. They may delay the progress, but they will never succeed," Mr. Wilkins said.

"Gov. Faubus made the mistake of the century by calling out the state troops to bar nine colored youngsters from going to school. When the history of the segregation struggle is finally written, I suspect that the Faubus error will mark the turning point in favor of the new order."

Mr. Wilkins stated that decent white people outnumber the other kind in the South. Together with colored citizens, they form a vast majority. "God will not permit such a combination to be defeated by the forces of bigotry and strife," he concluded.

(*The Afro-American*, July 4, 1959)

SUGGESTED READING

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SOUTH TOWN, by Lorenz Graham. Follett Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill. 1958 —

STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM, by Martin Luther King, Jr. Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y. 1958 — \$2.95

CRUSADER WITHOUT VIOLENCE, by L. D. Reddick. Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y. 1959 — \$3.95

THE SOUTHERN TEMPER, by William Petters. Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York, N. Y. 1959 — \$3.95

THE IDEA OF EQUALITY, by George L. Abernethy. John Knox Press, Richmond 9, Virginia. 1959 — \$6.00

THE RACIAL PROBLEM IN CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE. by Kyle Haselden. Harper and Brothers, New York, N. Y. 1959 — \$3.50

ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION — A Guidebook, by Herbert Wey and John Corey. Phi Delta Kappa, Inc., Bloomington, Indiana. 1959 — \$1.50

A SOUTHERN MODERATE SPEAKS, by Brooks Hays. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. 1959 — \$3.50

INTIMIDATION, REPRISAL AND VIOLENCE in the South's Racial Crisis. This report may be procured from the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. 1959 — \$.50

INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE. Race Relations — Denominational Statements, Part I and Part II. Dept. Racial and Cultural Relations, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. — \$.15

THE CHURCHES AND SEGREGATION. An Official Statement and Resolution adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches. Office of Publication and Distribution, 120 East 23rd Street, New York 10, N. Y. — \$.10

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NEW HOUSING FOR NEGROES: RECENT EXPERIENCE, by William Goldner. Real Estate Research Program, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of California — \$1.00 (Please make checks payable to The Regents of the University of California.)

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THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW, by C. Vann Woodward. New York Oxford University Press. 1957

SEGREGATION AND THE BIBLE, by Everett Tilson. Abingdon Press, New York and Nashville. 1958 — \$2.50

The matter in these pages is presented for the reader's information. Unless so stated, it is not to be construed as reflecting the attitudes or positions of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations or of The National Council of Churches.

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NOTICE

There will be no July-August issue of the INTER-RACIAL NEWS SERVICE this year. This is due to the fact that several recent issues, including the present one, have been considerably expanded in size. These materials in terms of printing space and subject matter covered, will more than equal the usual four-page summer issue.

